VOLUME I.

WASHINGTON, D. C., MONDAY AFTERNOON, JANUARY 22, 1855.

THE DAILY AMERICAN ORGAN Is published every afternoon, (except Sunday,) at the corner of Louisiana avenue and Teuth street, and a delivered to city subscribers (payable to the car-ciers) at 10 cents per week. Single copies, 2 cents. Mail subscribers, \$5 00 per annum, or \$2 50 for six months, always in advance.

Five lines or less, one insertion, 25 cents; each additional line, 5 cents.

Each additional insertion, half of the above rates.

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THE WEEKLY AMERICAN ORGAN

1 copy, one year.. \$2 00 | 1 copy, 6 months. \$1 00 \$ copies, one year. 5 00 | 5 copies, 6 months. 5 00 10 copies, 0 no year. 15 00 | 10 copies, 6 months. 8 00 ### Payments always in advance.

Test All communications on business connected with this paper must be directed to the "American Organ," Washington city, and be post-paid.

Test All advertisements for the "Organ" should be handed into the office before twelve o'clock, M., of the day of publication.

First. We shall advocate a repeal of the laws of naturalization, or if that cannot be accomplished, then such a modification of those laws, as will prevent future immigrants from becoming citizens, short of a residence of twenty-one years, after taking the oath of alle-giance to the United States, and of abjuration

of all other powers, potentates, and princes.

Second. We shall advocate the passage of a stringent law by Congress to prevent the immigration hither of foreigners, who are either paupers or criminals, and to send back to the countries from which they come, all such foreigners of these classes as may, in violation of such law, hereafter reach our ports; and to require the President of the United States to demand from any government, which may send hither such classes of its subjects, immediate and ample satisfaction for such outrage, and a proper indemnity against the repetition

Third. We shall oppose the election or appointment of any foreign-born citizen to any office of trust, honor or emolument, under the Federal or State governments, or the employment or enlistment of such persons in the army or navy in time of war; maintaining, as we do the opinion, that the native-born citizens of the United States have the right to govern the land of their birth; and that all immigrants from abroad should be content with the enjoyment of life, liberty and property, under our institutions, without seeking to participate in the enaction, administration, or execution of

Fourth. We shall advocate and urge the adoption of such an amended form of an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and to be administered to all persons elected or appointed to any office of trust, honor, or emolument, under the Federal or State governments, as will effectually exclude from such offices all persons, who shall not directly and explicitly recognise the obligations and binding force of the Constitution of the United States, as paramount to all obligations of adhesion or allegiance to any foreign prince, power, potentate, or authority whatever, under any and

Fifth. We shall maintain the doctrine that no one of the States of this Union has the right to almit to the enjoyment of free suffrage any person of foreign birth, who has not been first made a citizen of the United States, according to the "uniform rule" of naturalization prescribed by Congress, under the provisions of

Sixth. We shall oppose, now and hereafter, any "union of Church and State," no matter what class of religionists shall seek to bring about such union.

Seconth We shall vested rights of all persons, of native or foreign birth, and shall at all times oppose the slightest interference with such vested rights.

Eighth. We shall oppose and protest against all abridgment of religious liberty, holding it as a cardinal maxim, that religious faith is a questien between each individual and his God. and over which no political government, or other human power, can rightfully exercise any supervision or control, at any time, in any place, or in any form.

Ninth. We shall oppose all "higher law" doctrines, by which the constitution is to be set at nought, violated, or disregarded, whether by politicians, by religionists, or by the adherents or followers of either, or by any other class of

Tenth. We shall maintain and defend the constitution as it stands, the Union as it exists, and the rights of the States, without diminution as guaranteed thereby: opposing at all times, and to the extent of our ability and influence, all who may assail them, or either of

them. Eleventh. We shall oppose no man, and sustain no man, on the ground of his opposition to, or his support of, Democratic measures, or Whig measures; but we shall oppose those who oppose our doctrines, and sustain those who sustain our doctrines.

Twelfth. And lastly, we shall use our utmost exertions to build up an "American party," whose maxim shall be:

AMERICANS SHALL RULE THEIR COUNTRY!

M. T. PARKER.

House and Sign Painter and Glazier. No. 60 Louisiana avenue, between 6th and 7th sts. dec 18—dly

NOTICE. Persons desirous of subscribing to the Ansuran Onana will please leave their names and residence at Wm. B. Richards, Jr. s, Fancy Store, at Exchange Block, at H. Mansfield's Tobacco Store, on Royal street, or at the Agency, St. Aseph street, two doors south of King, or at James Entwistle, Jr., Druggist, King street, two doors south of Royal, Alexandria, Virginia. J. T. AUDLEY, Agent.

nov 80

can Organ, 7th Ward, No. 644 6th street south, between F and G. Persons who desire to subscribe for the paper will please leave their names and residence at Mr. Hall's, and Mr. Boswell's Drug Store, corner of 7th street and Virginia avenue.

THOMAS E. JACOBS, Agent for the American Organ, for the fifth and sixth wards. Office in Odd Fellows' Hall, near the Marine Garri-

The following preamble and resolutions, adopted at a mass meeting of the citizens of Washington, on the 27th day of September last, present the general sentiments of the "American party" in this city, and will doubtless be read with interest by the friends of American principles throughout the country, to wit.

less be read with interest by the friends of American principles throughout the country, to wit:

Whereas, a public meeting of citizens of Washington was held at Carusi's Saloon, on the 19th instant, upon a call made in and approved by the Executive organ, the proceedings of which, in the resolutions said to have been adopted at that meeting, and in the speeches of certain selected orators at a subsequent adjourned meeting, are now spread before the public eye in the columns of said organ, and its kindred presses, with approbation; and whereas said resolutions, however dressed up in abstract professions of patriotism, asual principles dear to the American heart and necessary to the safety of the sonstitution and to the peace and prosperity of our country; and whereas, the Executive is invoked therein to remove from public employment such officeholders as entertain those principles, thereby to perpetrate a ruthless proscription of both Whiga and Democrats for an honest difference of opinion; therefore—

Resolved, That mere professions of love to the constitution and to civil and religious freedom, when contradicted by actions, cannot decive the sensible and vigilant guardians of American liberty, whose apprehensions have been excited at beholding the strides that have been made toward a complete control of our government by the subjects of a foreign potentate well-known as the avowed enemy of our whole American system, to whose overthrow they are solemily devoted.

Resolved, That, as vigilant custodians of that beneficent system of civil and religious freedom bequeathed to us by the fathers of the republic, it is our duty to meet and repel all insidious attacks upon our liberties as well as all open assastits; and that we view with indignation and alarm the assertion of principles and purposes, on the part of the recopised exponents of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, subversive of our republican institutions, which constitute aggressions of such a character that, if not now reasted, will lead, at

stitution, we claim for Americans the right to govern their own country; and those who do not like our government have our hearty content to go olsewhere in the pursuit of sappiness.

Recolocyd, That the fourth resolution of the meeting at Carusi's Saloon, recommending to the President of the United States proscription of all officers of the Gedral government who may have thought fit to become members of the association of know Knothings—a recommendation which, before its adoption, had been recognised and acted upon by the Executive of the United States—proposes an alarming and dangerous infraction of the principles of self-government, and calls for the prompt and decisive rebuke of all the free citizens of these United States, without distinction of party, sect, or creed.

Recoloced, That every Protestant denomination in the United State maintains the constitutional principle of a separation of Church and State—in which principle many American Catholics sincerely concur, while on the other hand, the Papal Church abroad openly, and always, and everywhere maintains the doctrine of obedience of the civil to the ecclesisatical autherity, both in Europe and America; the sad and ruinous effects of which, in the one, are seen in countless emigrants flying from its tyranny and misery to our own happy land, and in the other, in the ignorance and poverty, of the masses, in the wealth and vices of the clergy, and in the ceaseless insurrections, massacres, and proverbial instability of our Southern sister Republics.

Recoloced, That upon these principles we appeal from the opinions, whose proclamation has caused this meeting, to the people, of the United States; and, although we might infer they are an exponent of executive feelings, from the official positions of those who controlled the proceedings, yet we will still hope that the President, who alone has the power, will arrest the proseryption already begun of faithful office-holders, both Democrats and Whigs, for daring to entertain American and Protestant

Resolved. That having seen the denunciations that almost daily issue from certain presses against the "fusionists" of the North, who are denounced as absorbed in "the traitorous factions" which distract those States, by which they are one after another being placed in opposition to the administration, we were astonished to hear the pressing invition in the second resolution of our opponents to men of all political opinions, without regard to their "political antecedents," to form a "fusion" with them in their future action—an invitation broad enough to include Garrison, Abby Kelly, and Fred. Douglas, besides their eoadjutors in the two houses of Congress.

Resolved, That we, too, appeal to all Americans who love the Union, which "must be preserved," and the constitution, which established and maintains it, and the rights of the States which compose it, and especially to the religious, the moral, and the order-loving classes, to unite with us in effecting the referring necessary to the safety and prosperity of our country, believing, as we do, that it is high time the career of interested and unscrupulous demagogues should be checked, and the government be placed in the hands of men acquainted with its character and spirit, and who duly value its countless blessings.

And whereas we believe in the competency, ability, and right of American-born citizens to govern their own country, therefore

Resolved, That we will not vote for nor assist in elevating foreigners by birth to offices of trust, emolument, or honor under our government; nor will we vote for or assist in elevating to such offices any American-born citizens who recognise or hold themselves under any allegiance whatever to any foreign prince, potentate, power, or authority.

Resolved, That the naturalization laws ought to be totally repealed or materially altered, and the term of residence before admission to the rights of citizenship be extended to the period of twenty-one years.

PERSONS residing in the First an Second wards desiring to subscribe to the "American Organ," will leave their names at William H. Hilton's, Agent, No. 805, Eleventh street, between and K, and at Mr. Carroll's shoe store, No. 117 Pennsylvania avenue, between Twentieth and Twenty-first stseet.

Persons residing in the 3d or 4th wards, who desire to become subscribers to the Daily or Weekly American Organ, will leave their names and number of residence at either of the following places, viz: Adamson's Book and Periodical Store, Seventh street, opposite the Post Office; Evans's Drug Store, corner of Seventh and I, or R. Y. Payne's Drug Store, corner of Fourth and Massachusetts avenue.

R. W. BATES, nov 14

nov 14 Our Georgetown Subscribers who do not receive the paper regularly, will leave their name and address at Welch & Wilson's, Joseph F. Birch's, or Dr. Linthicum's. W. H. CALHOUN, nov 15 No. 56, Jefferson street.

H. JOHNSON, Family Grocer, corner of Seventh and Estreets, No. 439, is being constantly supplied with fresh Family Groceries of all kinds, to which he respectfully solicits the patronage of his friends.

WALL & STEPHENS,

PENNSY LVANIA Avenue, between 9th and 10th streets, have just received a large assortment of Clotha, Cassimera, and Vesting, which they will have made up to order in the most fashionable styles.

able styles.

Also, on hand a very large stock of ready-made Clothing, which they will sell as cheap as any other establishment in the United States.

AN ACT for establishing religious freedom, passed in the Assembly of Virginia in the beginning of the year 1786:

Well aware that Almighty God hath created the mind free; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burdens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the Holy Author of our religion, who, being Lord both of body and of mind, yet chose not to propagate by coercions on either, as was in his almighty power to do; that the impious presumption of legislatures and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical, who, being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible, and as such endeavoring to impose them upon others, hath established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world, and through all time; that to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves, is sinful and tyrannical; that even the forcing him to support this or that teacher of his own religious persuasion is depariving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor whose morals he would make his pattern, and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness, and is withdrawing from the ministry those temporal rewards, which, proceeding from an approbation of their personal conduct, are an additional incitement to carnest and unremitting labors for the instruction of mankind; that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions more than our opinions in physics or geometry; that, therefore, the proscribing of any citizen as unworthy the public confidence by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to the offices of trust and emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which, in common with his fellow-citizens, he has a natural right; that it tendency, is deaprived by his profess and conform to it; that though,

strained, modested, or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall he otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief, but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil canadities.

And though we well know this Assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own; and that, therefore, to declare this act irrevocable would be of no effect in law; yet, we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind, and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present, or to narrow its operations, such an act will be an infringement of natural right.

NOTICE TO CONTRACTORS.

OFFICE OF METROPOLITAN R. R. COMPANY, Georgetown, D. C., Dec. 26, 1854. Georgetown, D. C., Dec. 26, 1854.

SEALED proposals for the grading, masonry, and bridging of forty-three and a half (43½) miles of this road will be received at the effect of the company until three o'clock P. M. on the 15th day of February next.

The maps, profiles, plans, and specifications will be ready for inspection on and after the 8th day of February.

be ready for inspection on and after the 8th day of February.

The Metropolitan Railroad is designed to extend from the cities of Washington and Georgetown to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, by an easy and di-rect route, connecting with the latter roud east of the "Point of Rocks," on the Potomac river, and making a saying of distance on the first specific specific or the state of the state

"Point of Bocks," on the Potomac river, and making a saving of distance on the first ninety miles of the present travelled route from the Capitol to the Western and Northwestern States of forty-five miles. Proceeding from the point of intersection with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad the route extends to the city of Frederick, and passing through the richest agricultural districts of Maryland, terminates in the city of Hagerstown, where it connects with lines of railroads, now in operation, extending to Harrisburg, the Pennsylvania Central Railroad, &c.

The portion of the road for which proposals are now invited extends from the westerly line of the District of Columbia (3 3-4 miles from Georgetown) to the city of Frederick.

Proposals will be received for the work in sections of one mile each, or for the entire distance of 42% miles.

miles.

The work is generally of a medium character for this part of the country, with some heavy cutting in the earth and rock, and bridging; and every facility exists for prosecuting it vigorously and with encomony at all seasons of the year. The country is elevated and rolling, well watered, and remarkably healthy.

time conditioned for the completion of the con-The time conditioned for the completion of the contracts will be from one to two years.

Any further information desired by persons proposing for the work will be furnished at the office, or may be had by addressing the President of the Company, by letter, prior to the day of letting.

By order of the Board of Directors.

FRANCIS DODGE, President.

EDMUND FRENCH, Chief Engineer.

dec 30 - 2awtfeb

GENTLEMENS' HAIR-DRESSING ESTABLISHMENT,

Willard's Hotel.

JOHN H. GIHBS begs leave to call the attention of the Gentlemen to the above establishment, where they will find every comfort in the Shaving, Har-cutting, Curling, Shampooing, and Hair Dying denartments.

Shaving, Har-cutting, Curling, Shampooing, and Hair Dying departments.

Alse, to his Wigs, Scalps, and Toupees, which articles cannot be surpassed in the United States, and are always on hand, or made to order at short notice.

His stock of Toilet articles and Furnishing Goods are carefully selected, and will be found to comprise the best kinds of Combs, Brushes; Lubin's Extracts; all sorts of Paris Perfumeries; Guerlain's, Rigges, and other Shaving and Toilet Soaps. Best quality Razors; nail Knives; Penknives; Tweezers, Razor Strops; genuine Farina Cologne, in long, short, and wicker bottles; Toilet Mirrors; Cold Cream, Lip Salve, Amondine; and almost every requisite for the Toilet.

Save, Amondme; and almost every requisite for the Toilet. In Furnishing Goods he has kid Gloves, white and colored; fashionable Cravats, Scarfs, Neck Ties; winter Gloves; Shirts, Suspenders, Stocks, pocket Handkerelinefs, Collars, &c., all of which have been purchased from the best houses in New York, and are warranted to be what they are represented. dec 11—cod8m*

HOUSES AND LOTS FOR SALE. 100 BUILDING lots, and 26 houses,
Also, two stores to let, on the corner of 7th and G
streets, Island. Apply to
WALTER A. TRUE,

Corner of Virginia avenue and 7th street.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIBRARIES furniahed at two-thirds their value, by calling New Union Bookstore, 25—5t 474 Penu. avenue. dec 23—51

"AMERICAN ORGAN," A Daily and Weekly Paper, published in Washing ton City, D. C., by AN ASSOCIATION OF NATIVE AMERICANS.

AN ASSOCIATION OF NATIVE AMERICANS.

WE have reached an important crisis in our political history. The two leading parties in our country, hitherto separated by broad lines, either of principle or of policy, differ now scarcely in any thing but in names.

A National Bank, formerly an essential point of difference between rival parties, has now no advocates. A Protective Turiff for the sake of protection, which once divided parties and distracted our National Councils, has become obsolete, as a question of party policy, simply because a "recenue tariff" affords incidental protection to American Manginctures. A modification of the details of our present tariff system is all that is demanded by the most strenuous advocates of protection to American Industry.

The distribution of the proceeds of the public lands among the several States, as formerly claimed by one party, and the application of those proceeds solely in aid of the national Treasury, as claimed by the other party, have both yielded to a compromise of these cendicting opinions, so far, at least, as to sink these questions as issues between Whigs and Democrats. A plan formed of a compound of "squatter sovereignty," of "graduation," and of a "surrender to the States" in which they lie, seems likely to withdraw the public lands from the areas of future party contests.

The impresement of harbors and rivers by congressional aid, on which political parties have hitherto differed at different times, has now become less a question of principle than selocal and sectional contest; and it will doubtless be adjusted by the next Congress, upon that basis of liberality and justice demanded by the spirit of the age and the true interests of the country.

Other questions, of minor importance, on which, at different times, the recent properties and different times, the recent parties and the true interests of the country.

grees, upon that basis of inferancy and justice demanded by the spirit of the age and the true interests of the country.

Other questions, of minor importance, on which, at different times, the two prominent parties of the country disagreed, have now, by a change of circumstances, become obsolete. What, then, remain as issues of any theoretical or practical importance between Whigs and Democrats? We know of none; and if these hitherto rival parties shall maintain their respective organizations, they will do so for the mere sake of the spoils of poncer!

But new issues have arisen, having no reference to the party organizations of Whigs and Democrats-issues which are vastly important in their bearing upon the future welfare of the country—and which issues must, in their discussion, progress, and termination, annihilate these two parties, which, for years past, have battled, with alternate success, for political supremecy.

past, have battled, with alternate success, for political supremacy.

A new era is at hand—an era which will be characterized, in the future history of these States, as the KRA OF PATHOTISH! Throughout the length and breadth of this great and glorious Union, the masses of the American people have spontaneously and simultaneously started the inquiry—"ARE NOT ANKHUCANS CATABLE OF GOVERNING THEIR COUNTRY?" This inquiry is as universal as it is natural and perticent. The response is being given in the thousands of associations appringing up in all portions of the United States, and resting on the single basis, that the notive born citiesne of this Union have the copacity and the will to administer their own Government, to protect the rights which they have inherited, and to perpetual the freedom and independence of their native land!

Shall we trace the causes of this spontaneous and

rights which they have inherited, and to perpetuate the freedom and independence of their native land!

Shall we trace the causes of this spontaneous and universal uprising of the masses of our countrymen? The evils incident to the indiscriminate immigration of foreigners into our country—the consequences of permitting such immigrants to enjoy the right of suffrage—and the degrading effect of elevating foreigners to posts of honor and trust under our government; all these have been seen and known to our people for years past, and yet until now, with few exceptions, the American people have seemed to be blind to the progress of foreignism in the land. We need not, on the occasion of presenting this circular prospectus to the country, assign the causes for this sudden and general manifestation of the purpose of the American people to take the reins of government into their own hands; it is sufficient for the object we have now in view to state the undeniable and obvious fact that such purpose exists.

We now come forward to present to our fellow-

and obvious fact that each purpose exists.

We now come forward to present to our fellow citizens the mode and means of concentrating th opinions and of harmonizing the action of those wh are disposed to unite in the formation of an "Anne ious party," whose purpose shall be to find a remedy for the manifold coils achieth have come upon us, an which are yearly increasing under the disastrous operation of our laws of naturalization! We propose testablish, in conformity with the wishes of thousand of the citizens of this District, and of a large number of our fixeds in the different State.

THE AMERICAN ORGAN.

The publication will commence on the 13th day of November daily, and on the 20th weekly.

A cash capital, amply sufficient to commence and to continue the enterprise, has been subscribed and secured to be advanced by a number of wealthy and influential gentlemen; and we are insured a daily circulation surpassing that of any paper now published in Washington city. The number of our weekly subscribers will depend upon the enthusiasm of our friends in the several States, but we have such assurances that we cannot doubt we shall commence with many thousands; and that a year will not transpire before our weekly list will be swelled to more than one hundred thousand.

Our position at the seat of the federal government.

than one hundred thousand.

Our position at the seat of the federal government, the centre of our political system, where all the representatives of the States, and of the people annually assemble, and where prominent men of all parties periodically solours for many months, is considered to us and the cure faints as the most favorable one.

periodically solours for many months, is considered by us, and by our friends, as the most favorable one for the publication of the ongay of the Merican party; and if the most untiring devotion to the accessory of the doctrines and policy of this party shall give us a claim to its support, we know we shall deserve, and we trust we shall receive it.

We cannot perhaps more distinctly and concisely define the basis on which the American Organ is established than by presenting the following extract, which we copy and adopt from an address of a former President of the Missouri Native American Association, and published at St. Louis in February, 1841, to wit:

"The federation of American perhaps is our The federation of American perhaps in our

THE PERPETUATION OF AMERICAN PRIERDON IS OUR MOTTO, AND THE AMERICAN

OAN PARTY OUR COGNOMEN."

wit:

"The perpetuation of American persons is our object, American rights our notice, and the collection of the American persons as will in our judgment, if carried out, perpetuate our freedom and protect our native rights; nor shall we at any time deviate from the path of duty as the organ of the American party, and the advocate of American rights.

We shall neither sustain nor oppose any political measures on the ground that they emanate from a Democratic or from a Whig administration; but we shall discuss all political questions with the most perfect freedom from favor or prejudice, toward the present or any future administration. Keeping always in view the principles and purposes of the American party, we shall battle for those principles and purposes, while as an independent journal, we skall approve what we think is right and condemn what we think is wrong in the principles of all public men and of all political parties. The editor of the American Organ will be a Democrat of the school of Jefferson and Madison, progressive in his notions of public policy, yet consistent in his advocacy of the rights of the States.

No essay or editorial shall ever appear in the American Organ, the tendency of which would be to prejudice the rights or wound the feelings of the citizens of any of the States. So far as the influence of this gaper shall extend, the constitutional rights of each, and of all the States, shall be maintained. We hold that the institution of slavery belongs exclusively to those States in which exists. Each of the States, for itself, hus the sole and exclusive right to determine whether or not slavery shall exist within its borders. We shall therefore oppose all aplication of the question of slavery, either in Congress or out of it.

The "American Organ," ill advocate the free and untrammelled exercise of the rights of conscience, on all questions connected with religious faith; but it will, by all fair and respectful arguments, oppose foreign domination over American citizens, from whatever quart

AMERICAN ORGAN.

FOR THE AMERICAN ORGAN. Chandler's Speech.

I have read the speech of Mr. Chandler of Pennsylvania, delivered a few days since in the House of Representatives, in reply to Mr. Banks, and I cannot find language strong enough to ex-press the astonishment which I felt at some of the positions assumed by him. I have not the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with Mr. Chandler but have always regarded him a scholar and gen deman; and perhaps I would be as willing to take his word as to the truth or falsity of any matter depending entirely upon his own personal knowledge, as that of any man; yet, when what he as serts to be true or false, is a matter entirely of de luction, or a conclusion of a process of reasoning from historical facts, as assumed premises I must claim the privilege of exercising some little share of the right of private judgment, and treat him as a descendant of Adam, and therefore fallible. In this country we have a right to doubt the cor ectness of a judge's opinion, even after it has een announced from the bench-and we have not yet been deprived of the privilege of speak ing what we think, and not only saying in express terms—it is not law—but appealing to a higher tribunal to correct the error, and reverse the judg-

I must beg leave to dissent from both the reasoning and conclusions of Mr. Chandler. If what e says be true, then the adherents of the Roman Catholic Church are playing a game, which is well calculated to destroy all confidence in their sinerity. They either do not agree amongst themwhat are the doctrines of their Church, and have in their own bosom two paries directly antagonistic, or they are furnishing the most striking illustration of the peculiarities of Jesuitism to be found on record. They are lowing hot and cold at the same time, and would have us believe either is their proper element. They are gazing on us with two faces and entreating us to believe either to be the sincere and true one, though they differ as widely as that of an Ethiopian from a Saxon's. If th priests and bishops of the Roman Catholic Church oill pay the game of "open and shut," can they expect to acquire a reputation for fairness and andor, as to what are the true doctrines of their bigot or fanatic, wishes to interfere between th ce of a Roman Catholic and his God-to deny him the privilege of worshipping that God as he wishes-or to call up the spirit of the days of ersecution for opinion's sake against him for enortaining and acting upon his religious faith. But, I presume, it will not be denied that, in this

ountry, every man, be he Papist or Heretic, Jew or Gentile, has the right to inquire into and pass dgment upon the opinions, principles, doctrin and if thought dangerous to the freedom of th State, or the stability of the government, to vote against him, for any office within the gift of the people. If not, then our whole political system is based upon error and deception. Does any man believe that if the Roman Catholics had the majority of voters in this country, they would ever elevate a Protestant to the Presidency, or Vice Presidency? Would they not, under such circumstances, have the political, the constitutional right to select men of their own persuasion to govern the country? Would they not be the first to laugh at any Protestant who might play the simpleton, to the extent of denying them the right to vote for whom they pleased, for such offices? But, I proceed to consider the material issues raised by the speech of Mr. Chandler. It may be gathered from the following passage :

gathered from the following passage:

"Mr. Chairman, I deny that the Bishop of Rome has, or that he claims for himself, the right to interfere with the political relations of any other country than that of which he is himself the sovereign. I mean, (and I have no desire to conceal any point,) I mean that I deny to the Bishop of Rome the right resulting from his divine office, to interfere in the relations between subjects and their sovereigns, or between citizens and their governments."

This presents the whole issue, and it is not my se to rely on Protestant history, or any process of reasoning, which they may have adopted, to controvert the position of Mr. Chandler ; but I propose to use weapons taken from the armory of his own church. There is, permit me to say in ad rance, a marked difference between denying that the Pope has, rightfully, such power, and denying that he has exercised, and still claims it by Divine right. Now, I ask attention to a few facts which will not be controverted by Roman Catholics themselves. In 1849 the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church in the United States, in council a Baltimore, addressed a letter of "approbation and encouragement" to Brownson, the editor of the Catholic Review, published in Boston, tendering their "influence to enable him to con tinue his labors in defence of the faith, of which e had proved an able and intrepid advocate. This letter is dated May 13, 1849, and is signed by twenty-five Bishops and Archbishops, amongst whom are Keurick, Hughes, Reynolds, Samuel, Fitzpatrick, &c. This letter of "approbation and encouragement" has been appended to, and published with each number of the Review for years

It has been used thus publicly by the editor. not only as a recommendation to extend the circu ation of his Review, but as an endorsement of th orthodoxy of the doctrines he has advocated. I have before me the entire numbers for 1854, to each of which, this "letter of credit" is appended, with the names of the twenty-five Bishops and Arch-bishops signed thereto. Now, it will hardly be pretended by Mr. Chandler, or any other friend of the Roman Catholic Church, that these twenty-five dignitaries have suffered their names to be used to give force and efficacy to doctrines which the church repudiates as erroneous, and, in this partic ular instance, injurious to her prosperity and growth in this country. I must assume, then, is justice to the high character of those who signed it, that the "letter of credit" is sufficient to constitute Brownson's Review, a faithful and correct expositor—an organ—of the doctrines of the Ro-mish Church in this country. If so, let us see how its principles and reasoning tally with those con tained in the speech of Mr. Chandler. Though he be a scholar, historian, and statesman of high character, Brownson is well able to answer him. Then to the record. "When Greek meets Greek," &c., is as applicable to intellectual conflicts as those of

In an article headed, "The two orders-Spirit ual and Temporal," published in the January num ber, 1854, Mr. Brownson, says: (page 28.)

"M. Arland (for he is reviewing a work of this Roman Catholic author) evidently believes himself

NUMBER 58. than many Italians, who declaim lustily against Gal-licanism, but he is not precisely a papiet after our own heart. He denies, indeed, the last of the four articles, the one which asserts that the doctrinal decisions of the Pope, are reformable, unless ac-cepted by the Church; but we can find no where in his pages a distinct denial of the first (of the four articles) by far the most objectionable of them, all,—the one which denies the Church all temporal authority, and asserts the independence of soverall,—the one which denies the Church all temporal authority, and asserts the independence of sovereigns in temporals, and which therefore involved the political atheism now so rife throughout the cictised world. It is true, he defends St. Gregory the Second, in his conflict with Henry of Germany, and Boniface the Eighth, in his struggle for the rights of the Church, with Phillip le Bel of France; but he does it on principles, which the lowest Gallican, of the times of Louis XIV might have accepted, and by no means on the principles asserted by those holy pontiffs themselves. He professes to follow the popular theory of the excellent and learned M. Gosselin, and derices the power exercised by the Popes over temporals in the middle ages, from the concessions of sovereigns, the consent of the people, the public law of the time, and the maxims then generally received, not from the express grant of power by our Lord to Peter, nor yet from the inherent universal supremacy of the spiritual order.

"He nust therefore bold that the second

"He must, therefore, hold that power to be of human origin, and its possession a mere accident in the history of the Church. This, with many for whom we have a profound reverence, is at present a favorite method of defending the power exercised over soverigus by Popes and councils in the Middle Ages—a power always odious to tyrants and demagogue, and which, it is gravely asserted, is no longer held or claimed by the successors of St. Peter. " This line of argument would no doubt answer our purpose most admirably if we were defending a human government, but where what we have to defend is not a human government, but a divinoly-constituted and supernaturally-assisted Churca, it, even if admissible at all, seems to us allogether sussatisfactory. It is certainly undeniable that the concessions of sovereigns and the consent of the people, were obtained on the ground that the Pope held the power by divine right, and that the Pope held the power by divine right, and that those maxims on which M. Gosselia relies for the justification of the Popes and Councils in exercising it, were that the epiritual order, and therefore the Church as the representative of that order, 18 SUPREME, and temporal sovereigns are SUBECTED TO IT and to the Pope as its supreme visible chief, Popes and Councils, in exercising authoritatively over sovereigns even in temporals, were, according to those maxims, only exercising the inherent rights.

To r and to the Pope as its supreme visible chief.

Popes and Councils, in exercising authoritatively over sovereigns even in temporals, were, according to those maxims, only exercising the inherent rights of the Church, as the spiritual authority, and, consequently, sovereigns were bound to obey them, not by human law only, but, also, by the law of God. Such, incontestably, is the doctrine of the magnificent bulls of St. Gregory and Boniface, and of the maxims, according to which it is attempted to justify the power exercised over sovereigns by Popes and Councils. Now, these maxims either were true, or they were false. If they were false, how will you justify an invalination for the morals, and to conduct individuals and nations in the way of holiness, in adopting and acting on them? If they were true, how can you deny that the power exercised is of Divine origin, or pretend that it is derived from the consent of the people, or the convession of sovereigns?

Because the public law and the maxims generally received by nations have, in this respect, been changed in modern times, we cannot say they-have been rightfully—lost, far less abandoned the power they formerly exercised over temporal affairs.

"They may not assert the power now, because now it cannot be exercised with its proper temporal consequences, but because they do not now assert it, we are not to conclude that they do not now possesses it, or that they do not hold it by Divine right?"

Again, on page 34:

Divine right."

Again, on page 34:

"There have crept into the Catholic camp not a few gross errors in regard to it, (the claim of power which we have been considering,) which are no less dangerous to civil liberty and social order than hostile to the Church, and derogatory to the rights of his sovereign Pontif. It is quite the fashion for Catholic politicians to assert that though the Church is supreme in spirituals, the State in temporals is absolutely independent of her authority, 'render unto Cæsar's.' As long the Church keeps within her own province, and confines herself to spirituals, we respect her, and submit to her authority. In spirituals we even recognise the authority of the Pope, and allow that in them he may do what he pleases, but he has no authority in temporals, and in them we will do as we please."

"Such is the popular doctrine of the day, and of not a few, who would take it as a gross affront, and

"Such is the popular doctrine of the day not a few, who would take it as a gross affir as downright injustice, were we to insinu-they are but sorry Catholics! Scarcely a amonget us, engaged in politics, can open his mouth without uttering this doctrine, and uttering it as if it were an incontestable truth, and maxim of Di-vine wisdom."

After a long process of reasoning from historical facts and the maxims and practice of the Church, and the inherent qualities claimed for it, Brownson arrives at this conclusion, and asserts it as the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church."

doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church."

"She must have the right to take cognizance of the fidelity of subjects, since they are bound to obey the legitimate prince for conscience's sake, and, therefore, of the manner in which princes discharge their duties to their subjects, and to judge and to declare, whether they have or have not forfeited their trusts and lost their right to reign or to command the obedience of their subjects. The DEFOCTING POWER IS INHEREST then IN INER, (the church,) as the spiritual authority, and as the guardian and judge of the law, under which Kings and Emperors hold their crowns and have the right to reign; for in deposing a sovereign, absolving his subjects for in deposing a sovereign, absolving his subjects from their allegiance, and authorizing them to pro-ced to the choice of a new sovereign, she does but apply the law of Christ," &c.

apply the law of Christ," &c.

Now, let us pause here for a moment, and hear
what Mr. Chandler has to say on these points. He thus speaks:

thus speaks:

"Undoubtedly the Pope has proceeded to dethrone kings, and thus to release subjects."

""
If, then, the Pope has exercised such a right, may be not, should he ever have to, renew that exercise? That, I suppose, depends entirely upon the foundation of the right, and the demand which may be made for its exercise. The question which concerns us here is, not whether the right has been claimed, but on what ground this right was asserted. If it was a divine right, inherent in the spiritual office of the Pope of Rome, as the successor of St. Peter, then I confess, sir, it may never, it can never lapse, and its exercise may be reof St. Peter, then I confess, sir, it may never, it can never lapse, and its exercise may be reneved with the reception of addition power. But, sir, if it was a right conferred for special occasions, by those interested in its exercise, conferred by monarchs for their own safety, and approved by the people for their own benefit, who were ready, willing, and able to contribute means
for giving its exhibition power, then it would of course cease with the change of circumstances in which it was conferred; and those who invested the Pope with the right, because they could assist him with power, and because the general safety rethe Pope with the right, because they could assist him with power, and because the general safety required the exercise of that power, retained in their own hands the right to withdraw or invalidate their former bestowal, and leave in the hands of the Roman Pontiff, only his spiritual rights over kings and people outside of the limit of his own temporal dominion."

mporal dominion."

Mr. Chandler then proceeds to recite the historical facts in reference to the cases in which the Pope, in times past, exercised this power over kings and people, and insists that it was under the con cession or grants of those kings and people, and quotes from M. Gosselin's work to sustain his position. Pray how will Mr. Chandler reconcile his